# SOCIAL PACIFIC SCHOOL PACIFIC SCHOOL



United Presbyterians Speak - 1960

# Social Progress

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Vol. L, No. 8

From This Vantage Point		3
Social Deliverances, 172d General Assembly		4
Introduction		4
The Church and National Purpose		5
International Relations		7
Race Relations		16
Church and State		28
The Religious Faith of Candidates		30
Progress Reports		33
Program Pointers		36
What's Happening		38
About Books	٠.	40
Echoes		44

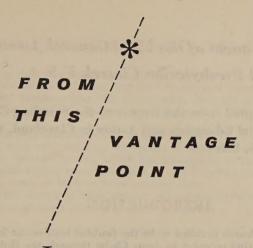
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In presenting this issue of Social Progress which deals with the social deliverances of the recent 172d General Assembly of The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. the editors would like to say something briefly about (a) the process by which the deliverances are developed and (b) the authority of the pronouncements. Both subjects are dealt with thoughtfully and adequately in the July, 1959, issue of our magazine.

The process is nearly as important as the pronouncements themselves. Indeed, it is the process that gives the deliverances their significance. In quick outline the steps are as follows: (1) The Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action, working over a period of several months and doing much of its work in specialized subcommittees to which appropriate experts are related, developed a set of recommendations which were transmitted to the General Assembly. (2) These recommendations were referred by the General Assembly to the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action of twenty-three persons, which studied them carefully and on the basis of them developed a report, which was brought to the floor of the General Assembly. (3) The General Assembly very thoroughly discussed the SEA report and approved it with only one substantive change in the direction of improving the document after nearly three hours of vigorous debate.

The authority of the social deliverances of the General Assembly derives from the high status of the body issuing them and from the responsibility with which that body speaks its mind. The pronouncements are not the law and order of the church. They are "advisory and ministerial." Their function is to stir and to guide the churches in responding to God's actions in the events of our time. They deserve to be studied carefully and acted upon seriously.

—The SEA Staff

# Social Deliverances of the 172d General Assembly of The United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.

As adopted from the Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action in Cleveland, Ohio, May 25, 1960

### INTRODUCTION

Believing that the church is called to be the faithful instrument in the world of the sovereign God revealed in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit;

Believing that Jesus Christ is not only the Head of the church but is also the sovereign Lord of all life, individual and corporate, private and public;

Being convinced that obedience to our Lord's commandment to love our neighbor requires that the church work to achieve a more just social order; Confessing the church's failure to fulfill this God-given responsibility be-

Confessing the church's failure to fulfill this God-given responsibility because of its bondage to the forces of evil which imperil all of mankind; and

Believing that the first step toward emancipation is self-examination under the guidance of the Holy Spirit;

The 172d General Assembly, in the light of the judging and redeeming Word of God, speaks to the church and to society in these areas of mankind's common concerns:

### Commentary on the INTRODUCTION

The introductory section of the deliverances affirms the right of the church to deal with social questions on solid Biblical and theological grounds. This the church does as the instrument of God's action in the world and in obedience to our Lord's command.

As to the competence of the church to speak sensitively and wisely on questions of public policy, or even to speak the truth, that depends on the ability of the church to utilize the experience and knowledge of people in its wide membership who have training and skill in theology, in social ethics, and above all in the practical areas where the problems emerge that trouble us.

Our church is richly blessed by having in its active life men and women of recognized talent in many fields of human endeavor.

Even so, it is useful and proper for the General Assembly to confess the failure of the church to be all that God calls it to be as his instrument and voice in the world.

### THE CHURCH AND NATIONAL PURPOSE

Recognizing that our nation was founded on the belief that man's inalienable rights are derived from God the Creator, and that out of this faith came a national purpose that affirmed justice, domestic tranquillity, the common defense, and the promotion of the welfare, liberty, and unity of the people;

Recognizing also that there is a deepening crisis in American life due to a growing confusion between the beliefs we still profess as a people and the values we actually live by, which has resulted in an erosion of personal integrity and public conscience and in the receding of our impelling and

unifying sense of high national purpose; and

Believing that a task of high priority before the American people is the redefinition and reassertion of our nation's goals;

### Commentary on THE CHURCH AND NATIONAL PURPOSE

Once the great statements of "national purpose" that most of us learned in school united our nation and fed its spirit: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal . . ." ". . . to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity . . .; " ". . . with liberty and justice for all."

Some of the phrases in these great documents of high purpose still are used as slogans to promote some aspect of our national effort. But they seem to have lost their power to move men, to sustain a sense of destiny, to coalesce a powerful national consensus of national destiny. There is no obviously "hurting" domestic crisis as in the Great Depression of the '30's, nor is there a directly felt, overt attack upon our national survival as in the Second World War. Both these overt crises galvanized

our nation, under aggressive national leadership, to sacrifice and to a reordering of nearly all segments of our common life.

Our people-most of us-are in a state of relative affluence, surfeited with consumer goods, devoted to comfort and security. The "threat of international communism." while real and deadly, is obscured and cushioned for most of us by the constant verbal references to it and by the use of the threat as a lever to accomplish the partisan and selfinterested aims of some politicians and pressure groups. We have had "Wolf!" cried at us so frequently and for so long that the very effort to call our attention to the danger tends to lull us deeper into apathy.

The values we profess are not the values we live by—the things we hope for and fear, the things we aspire toward and recoil from, the things we love and hate, the largely unconscious values that tip the scales of decision in our private and pub-

Believes that the American people should become aware of the growing crisis in our culture that demands a bold acceptance of new duties in contrast to a superficial and irrelevant moralism;

Calls upon the church to fulfill its mission to the civil community by a prophetic involvement in the redefinition of a national purpose and of the

values that have undergirded our common life; and

Directs the Moderator of the General Assembly to appoint a special committee to make a study of our national purpose in co-operation with the Department of Social Education and Action and to report its findings to the 173d General Assembly.

lic life, in personal behavior and public policy.

Our nation has no manifest, clear, and obvious national purpose that gives to its people a sense of destiny.

Life magazine and The New York Times have published a joint series of articles by distinguished Americans seeking to delineate a national purpose. The President of the United States, in fulfilling a promise made in 1956, recently appointed a longterm study commission with the assignment of developing a broad outline of co-ordinated national policies and program for the next decade and longer. A spate of articles in professional and popular journals reflects a similar concern about the state of health of our body politic. our culture, our common life.

The Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action, which drafted the statement that was debated, worked over, and revised by the Standing Committee, and the General Assembly itself, which adopted the Standing Committee's revised statement, were under no illusion of omnipotence. They did not believe that our church can, by itself, "redefine" our national purpose. The pronouncement calls our

church to a "prophetic involvement in the redefinition of a national purpose." The process out of which such a redefinition may come must involve the most important segments of "the civil community," within which the church—knowing what the civil community does not know, that Jesus Christ is the Lord of all life—has a responsibility to make its contribution.

While the pronouncement in the actual implementation of this "call" simply creates a special study committee to report to the next General Assembly, much more is implicit. Presumably, if the study committee feels it has accomplished anything worth-while at the end of its efforts. it will communicate its "findings" to the President's study commission for their consideration, as well as to the 173d General Assembly when it meets in Buffalo. Implicit also is the hope that presbyteries and sessions and study groups in local churches will devote some time and effort to the redefinition of national purpose. To assist such judicatory study groups, the Department of Social Education and Action has prepared a bibliography that may be useful.

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### South Africa

Speaking out of a sense of profound contrition in confession of our own guilt before God in the realm of race relations in our country;

The 172d General Assembly

Expresses its horror at the dangerous conditions in South Africa which the inconsistencies and moral absurdities of apartheid have brought upon that country;

### Commentary on INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### South Africa

The United Presbyterian Church in successive General Assembly deliverances has declared its abhorrence of racial discrimination and segregation in our own country, and its support of specific measures for the attainment of a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society. It has expressed a deep sense of guilt for its own involvement in the patterns and practices of segregation. It would be inappropriate for the United Presbyterian Church to be unconcerned about racial injustice in other parts of the world-especially now in South Africa where the official policy of segregation has been carried to dangerous extremes.

The population of the Union was estimated in 1957 to be 14,167,000. The racial distribution, according to the 1957 estimates, was as follows:

Natives	9,460,000	66.8%
Europeans	2,957,000	20.9%
Colored	1,319,000	9.3%
Asians	431,000	3.0%

Natives, principally Bantu, make up 28 per cent of the work force in busi-

ness and finance, 50 per cent in industry, 87 per cent in mining, and 92 per cent in agriculture. The Europeans include about 1,700,000 Afrikaners of Dutch descent, and 1,200,-000 English-speaking, principally of British stock. The colored, or racially mixed, live mostly in Cape Province; a majority are Christians. The Asians include about 350,000 Indians living mainly in Natal Province. The Indians of South Africa are said to have one of the highest rates of population growth in the world, a matter of no little worry to the Nationalists.

### Segregation Policy

The Union of South Africa declared for apartheid in the general elections of May 26, 1948, when the prosegregation Nationalist Party won seventy seats in the Assembly (the lower house of Parliament) and its ally, the Afrikaner Party (later united with the Nationalists), won nine seats, adding up to a controlling bloc. Daniel Malan, leader of the Nationalists, became Premier, replacing Field Marshal Jan Smuts of

the pro-British United Party, which was moderate in its approach to race relations. The Nationalists won again in 1953 and 1958, increasing their majorities each time. Malan resigned in 1954 and was succeeded by Johannes Strijdom, who demanded more rigid apartheid laws. In 1958, Hendrik Verwoerd, an extreme and coherent advocate of apartheid, became Premier.

The twelve years of Nationalist Party rule were marked by steps toward the full implementation of apartheid and white supremacy policies: (1) Indian franchise abolished; (2) mixed marriages prohibited; (3) population registered by racial groups; (4) identity cards required; (5) basic apartheid law enacted providing for segregated areas for whites, colored, and natives; (6) strikes by native workers banned; (7) segregation laws extended to include public places, vehicles, higher education; (8) apartheid principle extended by law to churches; (9) colored voters removed from common electoral rolls with the result that only whites have franchise in national elections; (10) Government given wide powers to suppress opposition and to put down civil disobedience; (11) Bantu "self-government" bill enacted providing for erection of eight native territories with limited self-rule.

A crisis developed in 1951 over the power of the Supreme Court to rule on the constitutionality of acts of Parliament. In 1955 the Parliament enlarged both the Supreme Court and the Senate (the upper house of Parliament) in a move to assure the success of Nationalist policies.

### Resistance

Natives and Indians began a campaign of civil disobedience against the Government's apartheid measures in 1952. Before the end of the vear 8,000 had been arrested for violating apartheid laws. Passive resistance developed into riots in several places, but the campaign soon disintegrated. In 1956 and 1957 the Government arrested and held for treason scores of leaders of opposition movements. A nationwide bus boycott by natives in early 1957 ended in a compromise. Mass demonstrations by African women against the use of identity cards occurred in October, 1958. At the same time there were mass disorders in a Government school for natives in Natal.

Durban was the scene of wide disturbances in June, 1959, which were met by harsh police resistance. Violence broke out in Natal again in August. Last December, local police aided by South African troops fired on crowds resisting transfer to new housing locations in Windhoek, Southwest Africa, killing twelve and wounding fifty persons.

In January of this year, riots broke out in Durban in which nine policemen were killed, and 170 natives were arrested for taking part in a strike for more pay. On March 21, police fired on crowds of Africans Calls upon our Government to continue to use its influence, both directly and through the United Nations, to persuade the Union of South Africa to turn from the policies that bring only despair; and

demonstrating in Sharpeville (thirty miles south of Johannesburg) and in Langa (near Cape Town) against identity cards. Seventy-two Africans were reported killed, 200 wounded. Riots continued in the Cape Town region on March 22. Some 2.000 natives appeared at the central police station in Cape Town on March 25 and asked to be locked up for not carrying passes. On the following day the Government suspended the requirement that Africans must carry identity cards. Outbreaks of violence occurred in Johannesburg and other cities on March 28 in which fifteen Africans were reported killed and scores injured. A state of emergency was declared in eighty districts, including the principal cities and towns. Demonstrations continued in various parts of the country for several days, with violence breaking out again in Durban, Cape Town, and Johannesburg, culminating in the attempted assassination of Premier Verwoerd by a white farmer on April 9.

### Protests from Abroad

The Government's apartheid policies and its use of violence in putting down opposition have met with stern protests from abroad. In June, 1959, nine members of the British House of Lords appealed to the South African Government not to proceed with apartheid in higher education. The UN General Assembly in the fall of 1959 expressed "deep regret and concern" that South Africa had not dis-

carded its apartheid policies. Last December the British Trade Union Congress called upon its eight million members to boycott South African goods during March of this year. The United States State Department issued a statement in March expressing regret over the violent supression of South African demonstrations. The UN Security Council on April 1 adopted a resolution by a vote of 9 to 0 which "deplores the policies and actions" of the Government of South Africa, and "calls upon" the Government to "abandon its policies of apartheid."

In the meanwhile, demonstrations and disturbances subsided. A planned "stay home" protest among native workers failed to materialize. Police in Johannesburg reported on April 25 that more than 4,500 Africans had been arrested since March 30 when the state of emergency was declared. Earlier, the requirement that all natives carry identity cards had been reinstated. The thousands of Africans who had burned their hated cards were forced to get new ones at a cost of \$2.80 each.

### Churches Divided

The churches of South Africa have been divided on the basic issue of apartheid. For many years the more conservative groups tended to support the Government. Premier Malan himself was an influential leader in the (Dutch) Reformed Church. At the same time many other religious leaders, including several Anglicans,

Prays that the churches of South Africa be faithful instruments of God's grace for reconciliation among all men.

### **Technical and Economic Aid**

Noting the growing importance of technical and economic assistance to newly developing countries; and

Recognizing that such programs will be our responsibility as a nation among

the community of nations for years to come;

resisted the Government's program, even to the point of having to flee the country for their own safety. In more recent times, however, as the apartheid policies became extreme, the churches have been somewhat more united in their resistance to the Government. The World Council of Churches has recently engaged in conversations with its five member bodies in South Africa in the interest of a united Christian witness for racial justice and peace.

The General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church did well to express its grave concern about recent developments in South Africa. The pronouncement has been communicated in the proper way to our own Government and to the churches

of South Africa.

### Technical and Economic Aid

Our nation's involvement in programs of technical and economic cooperation with newly developing areas is based on the central fact of interdependence. What happens to other countries has a vital bearing on what happens to us. We are very definitely a part of their world. And they are part of our world. That is the way things are now and will be forever.

We need to be reminded of the im-

portance of international assistance in the economic and technical spheres—for the countries served by these programs and for us. Foreign aid is justified on the basis both of the needs and aspirations of the developing areas, and of our own national self-interest.

### Criticisms

We need also to be warned against irresponsible and often malicious criticisms of our foreign-aid programs. These attacks shatter the morale of the great company of dedicated persons who administer the programs and increase the difficulty of recruiting additional high-caliber personnel. The attacks undermine public confidence in the programs and jeopardize their very existence -indeed, the criticisms are sometimes so unreasonable that their design seems to be not the improvement of the programs but their destruction.

Several months ago the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives developed a list of criticisms often made of our economic and technical assistance ventures. The list was submitted to the appropriate units of government for comment. The results of the study were published in a 112-page pamphlet which deserves careful reading:

Reaffirms its support of our Government's programs of technical and economic assistance for less developed lands;

Cautions the members of the churches against unfounded and careless criticisms of these programs:

Criticisms of the Foreign Aid Program and Comments Supplied by the Department of State, the International Co-operation Administration. and the Department of Defense, available from the Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (This pamphlet includes a chapter that analyzes and "refutes" many of the charges against technical assistance programs popularized by the "best seller" The Ugly American, by William Lederer and Eugene Burdick.) Other literature dealing with these criticisms can be secured from the Committee for International Economic Growth, 1028 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D.C. This is a voluntary nonprofit organization of which Eric Johnston is chairman.

The arguments against international economic and technical assistance have been stated by foes of the program in debates on foreign aid in both the House and the Senate. The following criticisms are typical:

• A program designed to meet a temporary emergency has become permanent.

• The program is shot through with waste, inefficiency, corruption.

• In view of the mounting U.S. debt, the program is too costly. We are borrowing the money we are "giving away" in grants and loans.

• The economic development of other countries (with U.S. taxpayers' money) creates competition that threatens U.S. industry.

• Our foreign-aid program has become a bureaucracy that has grown in eleven years from 450 to more than 12,000 people.

• In our assistance efforts we are subsidizing and strengthening political systems and foreign "isms" that threaten the survival of capitalism

and free enterprise.

• We are confusing charity, which is a person-to-person relationship, with diplomatic and foreign policy aims, which are concerned with national self-interest and national obiectives, not humanitarianism.

### Evaluating the Criticisms

In order to understand and evaluate criticisms of the foreign assistance program of our Government, it is important to ask certain questions.

• What is being criticized? "Foreign aid" is a term used to designate several kinds of assistance programs -military aid, defense support, loans and grants for economic development, technical assistance of various kinds, contracts for specified programs in developing areas, U.S. contributions to United Nations agencies serving areas of special need (such as UNICEF), and other programs. A specific criticism of one phase of our nation's overseas efforts may be fair and useful, but it becomes misleading, destructive, and irresponsible when applied unjustly to the totality of our "foreign aid" programs.

Commends the men and women who have served with devotion and imagination in our country's overseas programs of economic and technical cooperation; and

- Is the criticism based on fact? Some of the violent attacks on foreign aid have turned out to be based on something that was true five years ago but is not true today. It should be noted in this connection that the administrators of our economic and technical assistance, with few exceptions, have been exceedingly zealous and faithful in correcting errors, remedying mistakes, seeking improvements. Many of the criticisms now current are sweeping generalizations that have no grounding in fact.
- What are the assumptions that underlie the criticism? This is a key question. Some attacks on foreign aid are based on an unrealistic philosophy of economic self-sufficiency and political isolation. The philosophy that squares with reality is that interdependence among the nations is a major fact of our world and that economic co-operation is as essential now as political co-operation. Some current criticisms of foreign economic assistance can be answered only by showing up the falseness and inadequacy of an isolationist philosophy.

Perhaps the most common charge against our nation's foreign-aid programs is that we cannot afford them. Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate, speaking of Government expenditures in general, said in an address to the Senate last September:

This country has the natural, the industrial, and the human resources

to do almost anything it wants to do -provided it passionately wants to. It is nonsense to say we cannot afford it. During World War II we devoted between 40 and 50 per cent of our gross national product, which at that time was something less than half what it is today, to the purposes of war: and at the same time provided food, clothing, and shelter for ourselves at a comfortable level. Yet now. when the total budget of the Federal Government amounts to less than one sixth of our gross national product, we are told we cannot afford it. This is plainly not so. What the people who say this mean is that they don't want to pay for it.

When a criticism is fair, factual, and specific, and when it is based on an understanding and acceptance of our country's responsibility in the field of international economic cooperation, the criticism should be regarded as essentially constructive and should lead to efforts to bring about correction and improvement.

### Overseas Service

The General Assembly had a word of special commendation for the thousands of persons who administer our country's programs of economic and technical co-operation in scores of countries around the world. Many of these persons bring to their work the same quality of personal commitment, of selfless dedication to the service of others in the spirit of Christ, that inspires and motivates Christian missionaries and "fraternal workers." This is also true of a great many who work in interna-

Calls attention to the need for a corps of trained and dedicated men and women for overseas service in both governmental and nongovernmental programs designed to minister to human needs and to assist the newly developing countries.

### **World Tensions**

Noting with deep concern the collapse of the recent summit conference, and Recognizing, nevertheless, that the summit failure lays bare the harsh dilemmas our nation faces as a world power, and destroys the illusion that there are quick and easy roads to peace;

The 172d General Assembly

Calls upon our churches not to give way to disillusionment or despair but to continue to work and pray for "the things that make for peace";

tional programs under the United

The need is great, as the General Assembly pointed out, for a growing corps of trained and dedicated young men and women for overseas service in programs "designed to minister to human needs and to assist newly developing countries." The youth of our churches should be faced with the challenge of service in these programs.

### World Tensions

This somber deliverance refers to the Summit Conference (involving the heads of state of France, Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union), which opened in Paris on May 16, 1960, and closed on May 17, without really getting under way.

The Conference was preceded on May 1 by the capture by the U.S.S.R. of a United States U-2 observation plane and its pilot on a photo-reconnaissance mission deep in Russian territory. At the very beginning of the Paris Conference, Mr. Khrushchev made a statement in which he (1) canceled President Eisenhower's

scheduled visit to the Soviet Union. (2) demanded U.S. acquiescence in certain impossible conditions relative to the U-2 incident before he was willing to engage in summit talks. Mr. Eisenhower stated that the U-2 flights had been suspended but that he rejected the principal conditions demanded by Mr. Khrushchev. The Soviet leader then declared, "We regret that this meeting has been torpedoed by the reactionary circles of the United States by provocative flights of American planes over the Soviet Union." He proposed that the Summit Conference be postponed for six to eight months-after U.S. presidential elections. Mr. Eisenhower said. "The only conclusion that can be drawn from his [Khrushchev's | behavior this morning was that he came all the way to Paris with the sole intention of sabotaging this meeting on which so much of the hopes of the world have rested."

So ended an era of increasing good feeling between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. highlighted by Mr. Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union a year ago, Mr. Khrushchev's visit to this country last September, and the apparently friendly and useful Camp

Affirms its confidence in the process of honest negotiation in resolving international differences;

Emphasizes the need for continued efforts to achieve an honorable understanding with the Soviet Union;

Commends our nation's leaders for seeking the reduction and limitation of weapons of destruction and urges our Government to continue pressing

David talks between Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev. In the months between Camp David and Paris, "personal diplomacy" was the order of the day in Mr. Khrushchev's visit to Red China (in late September) and Mr. Eisenhower's good-will tour through Italy, Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, Iran, Greece, Tunisia, France, Spain, and Morocco (in December). During the weeks prior to the Summit Conference in May there were literally scores of preparatory meetings, conferences, conversations, involving the highest echelons of government of all the Western powers.

### Back to Reality

The General Assembly, while expressing regret and disappointment over the collapse of the Paris meeting, nevertheless took note of the harsh realities of the tensions and conflicts that afflict international relations in our generation.

Perhaps the summit failure, deplorable and tragic as it was, can be turned to a relatively good purpose by shocking us all into a new realization of the gravity of the cold war, and by destroying "the illusion that there are quick and easy roads to peace."

Rather than surrendering to a negative mood of disillusionment and frustration, we are called upon to study and understand the realities of the continuing crisis in interna-

tional relations, and to support and serve the policies and programs that contribute, in however small a way, to world order—"the things that make for peace."

### Honest Negotiation

The Paris failure has led some to discount negotiation as a way of resolving international differences. Perhaps we have tended in the past to confide to an unwarranted degree in negotiation "at the summit" in spite of the warnings of some of our top political advisers that "summitry" was a dangerous and uncertain device.

The General Assembly does well to remind us of the importance, indeed the fundamental necessity, of honest negotiation between governments, through highly accredited representatives, if differences are ever to be resolved and the instruments of peace developed. Recent history is replete with discouraging examples of the difficulty of international negotiation such as disarmament talks and attempts to settle North Korean issues, but there is no substitute.

The General Assembly moves to a positive note by commending our country's leaders for seeking the goal of disarmament with adequate inspection and control. The 170th General Assembly in 1958 approved a forthright declaration on the vitally important issues of disarma-

toward the goal of universal disarmament with adequate inspection and control; and

Urges upon the members of our churches the importance of being informed and concerned about international affairs, appraising the present world conflict in the light of God's judging and redeeming will as revealed in Jesus Christ our Lord.

ment and the control of nuclear weapons.

### Importance of Study

Members of our churches are reminded by the General Assembly of the importance of being concerned and informed about world affairs. Our country can live up to all that is required of it as a world power, can meet the responsibilities of leadership that have been thrust upon it, can fulfill its stewardship of the resources, both material and human. with which God has favored it, only as the people of this land have some understanding of the great issues of the hour and accept the fact of our involvement. It would appear to be especially important for churches and their members to be concerned about these matters. Indeed, they have the duty, as the General Assembly affirms, of appraising the world conflict "in the light of God's judging and redeeming will as revealed in Jesus Christ."

Many persons are discouraged in their concern about world affairs because there seems to be nothing, or so very little, that they can do about them. Here we would like to say with great emphasis that study is action. We are doing God's will in international affairs, as persons in private life, when we seek to become informed about them. Awareness, interest, knowledge, concern, are the ingredients of informed public opinion. And public policy grows out of the desires of the people. Let us say again that study is synonymous with action in the field of international affairs.



lobbyist



chairman



special pleader

### RACE RELATIONS

Believing that the achievement of racial justice in all aspects of our common life continues to be a crucial problem, with international implications of great magnitude;

Believing it is God's will that his church continue to speak and act through

love for justice and reconciliation with respect to this problem;

Noting that previous General Assemblies have repeatedly called for a non-segregated church in all phases of the church's life—congregations, institutions, boards and agencies—and have suggested broad strategies for the

achievement of this goal; and

Noting that previous General Assemblies have also simultaneously called for a nonsegregated society, particularly in the areas of employment, housing, education, and community services; and have urged individual, organized, and governmental action for the achievement of this goal;

The 172d General Assembly

Affirms its determination neither to rest nor become silent on this issue until all citizens of our country have equal access to the rights, responsibilities, and privileges of citizenship, and all Christians can find full participation in the work and worship of Christ's church, without respect to their race or ethnic origin;

Reaffirms the actions of previous Assemblies on the achievement of a non-

segregated church and a nonsegregated society; and

Addresses itself now to the following matters: (1) discrimination in public accommodations; (2) the responsibility and right of all citizens to vote; (3) the call of ministers without respect to race; (4) the vocational aspirations and training of nonwhite youth; and (5) desegregation in public schools.

### Commentary on RACE RELATIONS

The opening portion of this section reaffirms the statements of previous General Assemblies directed to both church and society with respect to racial desegregation, asserts this Assembly's determination to continue to speak to the problems of race until they are resolved, and lists the areas to be dealt with this year: (1) discrimination in places of public accommodation; (2) the responsibility and right of all citizens to vote; (3) the calling of ministers without respect to race; (4) the vocational aspirations of nonwhite

youth; and (5) desegregation in public schools.

### 1. Public Accommodations

a. Statutory Prohibitions

In October, 1957, Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Finance Minister of Ghana, was refused service in a Howard Johnson restaurant in Dover, Delaware, because of his color. Both before and since, similar incidents have been a repeated source of embarrassment to United States foreign policy, and as such have dramatized the con-

### 1. Public Accommodations

### a. Statutory Prohibitions

Noting that discrimination because of race in places of public accommodation

is still all too common in many parts of the United States;

Believing that such discrimination not only magnifies the significance of American racial discrimination in the eyes of peoples overseas, but denies, as does every kind of racial discrimination, the dignity and worth of persons created in the image of God; and

Knowing that many states and municipalities have not taken even the minimal step of prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation,

or else do not enforce existing statutory prohibitions;

The 172d General Assembly

Calls upon our judicatories and church members to insist that public officials enforce such statutory prohibitions where they exist, and to support such legislation where it has been, or can be, introduced;

tinuing, quiet indignity of such discrimination that happens every day to American citizens of color in their own land. Whereas Mr. Gbedemah received an apology from Mr. Johnson, from President Eisenhower and Vice-President Nixon, Negro and other Americans have endured, and continue to endure, similar discrimination without apology and in many instances without redress.

Some twenty-five states and several municipalities have statutory prohibitions against discrimination in hotels, restaurants, etc. Most of these laws do not carry enforcement provisions. In states where such provisions do exist, enforcement outside of metropolitan areas is very spotty. A recent inquiry from a pastor whose city council was considering an ordinance prohibiting local discrimination in public accommodations led to the discovery that the General Assembly of our church had never made a specific statement on this particular aspect of racial discrimination. That pastor could only tell his congregation (one of whom was a member of city council) that the

tenor of past pronouncements was in favor of such legislation. The council voted down the proposal.

The 172d General Assembly this year speaks clearly in support of antidiscrimination legislation where it exists or can be introduced and urges members to insist on its enforcement. The General Assembly also asks United Presbyterians to protest discriminatory practices to owners or managers of establishments that are not open and to patronize those establishments which do not discriminate.

One General Assembly commissioner read into the last paragraph of the action a call to boycott segregated business establishments. However, such a negative interpretation of the statement is not implied. As one member of the standing committee, an attorney, pointed out: "If I pat a man on the back for good behavior, this does not imply that in so doing I also slap in the face all those who have not behaved as he has. The statement quite clearly advocates support of those who do not discriminate, nothing more."

Urges our members to take note of hotels, restaurants, and other public accommodations that discriminate and to communicate to the owners or managers their desire to see such discriminatory practices eliminated; and Urges United Presbyterians, individually and in concert, to seek out and patronize those places of public accommodation that serve the public without such discrimination.

### b. Student Demonstrations

Acknowledging that Christians have historically upheld the just authority of the state as being instituted of God for his own glory and the public good so long as the state has not commanded anything contrary to the law of God;

### b. Student Demonstrations

Whereas many states have laws that prohibit racial discrimination, however inconsistently they may be enforced, a few states have laws requiring discrimination. In these and others where custom and public opinion are firmly set against nonsegregated eating, for example, it is utterly unrealistic to expect or ask for the passage of prohibitive legislation in the immediate future.

Meanwhile, since February of this year, college (and in some instances, high school) students in over seventy Southern communities have staged orderly, peaceful, and dignified efforts to obtain nonsegregated service at lunch counters, public libraries, and other places of public accommodation. Some have been beaten, cursed, spat upon, soaked with fire hoses in freezing weather. At least a thousand students have been arrested on charges varying from "disturbing the peace" to "conspiracy to obstruct commerce" to "trespassing." Not a few of those arrested have elected to serve jail sentences rather than pay fines or bail.

These spontaneous student demonstrations have been hailed as the most significant development in the movement toward desegregation since the famous Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. They have sparked sympathy demonstrations on over a hundred Northern college and university campuses and financial and moral support from dozens of organizations (in March, for example, from the members of the staff of the United Presbyterian Board of Christian Education and in April from members of the Board itself).

The student demonstrations have accomplished at least three important things. First, they have laid to rest a popular, but erroneous, assumption among many white people that the great masses of Negroes in America are not really interested in desegregation and are content with minor improvements of their lot within a segregated system. The spontaneous, indigenous massiveness of the protests, not one of which has been shown to have been started by "outsiders," speaks for itself.

Second, as pointed out by Lerone Bennett, Jr., in June Ebony, they provide an answer to the college professor who asked, with many others, "'What's happened to America?'" and "ticked off a damning bill of particulars: crime, juvenile delin-

Affirming that some laws and customs requiring racial discrimination are, in our judgment, such serious violations of the law of God as to justify

peaceable and orderly disobedience or disregard of these laws;

Believing that current student demonstrations against racial segregation, while in some cases conflicting with local laws or customs, seem to be consistent with our Christian heritage, the Federal Constitution, and the moral consensus of our nation; and

Deploring the violent reactions that have produced assaults on the persons of student demonstrators and the unjust arrest in some cases of the victims

rather than the assailants:

quency, quiz-fixing, political apathy, and the disturbing silence of the young generation. 'Where,' he asked, 'in this fat, gadget-ridden land of ours can you find the moral concern. the idealism that motivated the men who made this country?' . . . In a great upswelling of moral indignation, church groups, politicians, and public figures climbed on the sit-in bandwagon. . . . Every person who committed himself was forced to remember . . . 'what it was like to be young, militant, and in love with freedom and justice." A student worker has referred to the demonstrations as "the first authentic student movement since the 1920's."

Third, as pointedly suggested by Louis E. Lomax in June Harper's Magazine, they mark the end, or at least an agonizing reappraisal, of the established and traditional adult Negro leadership that accepted the benevolence of whites on schedules and conditions established by whites. The students have established their own schedule, their own leadership, and have bypassed those who wanted to wait until "the people are ready."

This section of the pronouncements was more difficult to formulate by the Standing Committee, and was more lengthily and responsibly debated on the floor, than any other.

It deals implicitly with the problem of civil disobedience for Christians. and quite obviously the General Assembly could not lightly or indiscriminately encourage students or anyone else to disobey laws they don't like or disagree with. Further, the preponderance of the Christian tradition, both pre- and post-Reformation, has been consistent with the thirteenth chapter of Paul's letter to the Romans: Since "there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God . . . he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and ... will incur judgment" (Rom. 13: 1-2).

However, this tradition has been repeatedly qualified with the reservation that the Christian may, sometimes must, "obey God rather than men" (Acts 5: 29) and disobey any civil commandment that requires of him something that is contrary to God's law or his Word. John Calvin, who was much more worried about anarchy than he was about tyranny, refused to shut the door tightly against civil disobedience under any circumstances: "But in the obedience which we have shown to be due to the authority of governors, it is always necessary to make one exception, and that is entitled to our first

Commends those who, when struck, did not strike back; who, when cursed, did not curse back; who acted with patience and dignity in the face of violence and hostility;

Assures students of our common cause with those who for the sake of conscience participate in such responsible nonviolent demonstrations;

attention. . . . The Lord, therefore, is the King of kings; who, when he has opened his sacred mouth, is to be heard alone, above all, for all, and before all; in the next place, we are subject to those men who preside over us; but no otherwise than in him. If they command any thing against him, it ought not to have the least attention; nor, in this case, ought we to pay any regard to all that dignity attached to magistrates." (Institutes, IV. xx. 32.)

Through this tiny crack in the door of "obedience to the powers that be" poured the forces that helped produce the Scottish and American and French struggles for liberty. At least two democratic republics came into existence through it.

The current student demonstrations raised for the 172d General Assembly the question as to whether a law that requires or permits a man to deal unjustly with his neighbor, a law that in fact bolsters a whole system of injustice and exploitation, can be called "contrary to the law of God." For example, does a law that forbids a white man to associate with a colored man in any way except a master-servant basis violate God's law? Or a law that requires or permits a man to order off the premises of his public-serving establishment all Negroes, simply because they are Negroes?

While church councils can err and

have erred, and while "God alone is Lord of the conscience," it is clearly within the Presbyterian tradition for the General Assembly to voice its "judgment" in answer to these and other questions. In the statement on student demonstrations the Assembly did voice its judgment. The statement was drafted with great care and precision. It was debated with vigor and thoughtfulness. Before the vote was taken, the Assembly was called to prayer led by the Moderator and Vice-Moderator. It was passed by an overwhelming majority.

# 2. Voting Rights and Responsibilities

Apathy in the exercise of the right and responsibility to register and vote is not a racial trait. It seems to be peculiarly an American affliction in contrast to the vigorous exercise of citizen responsibility at the polls in European and Latin American countries (at least in those countries where a free ballot exists).

However, the 1959 Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (With Liberty and Justice for All, 200-page abridgment available for 60 cents from Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.) indicates clearly that Negro citizens in some counties of the South and Puerto Rican citizens in New York City are effectually hindered, and in

Urges them to continue to recognize the dangers to the civil order inherent

in conflict with established authority; and

Urges United Presbyterians to search their consciences and prayerfully to determine, within the fellowship of the church, whether God calls them to support these efforts.

### 2. Voting Rights and Responsibilities

Believing that voting is not only the right, but the responsibility, of all American citizens; and

Being convinced that many American citizens fail to exercise that right and responsibility not only because of apathy and lack of motivation, but also because of external and racially discriminatory hindrances;

The 172d General Assembly

Urges state legislatures and the United States Congress to continue to work for legislation that will effectively secure and protect the rights of all citizens to vote, regardless of race;

many cases, prevented from voting by a variety of legal, extralogal, and illegal devices.

New York voters are required to be able to read and write English, which disqualifies 59 per cent of the 190,000 Puerto Ricans who have lived in New York long enough to satisfy that state's residence requirements for voting. The United States Supreme Court has ruled that "the protection of the Constitution extends to all, to those who speak other languages as well as those born with English on the tongue."

Meanwhile in Gadsden County, Florida, with 10,930 adult Negroes living there in 1950, only 7 Negroes were registered to vote in 1957. In 14 Mississippi counties with a total Negro population of 109,000 as of 1950, not a single Negro was registered in 1955. In Haywood County, Tennessee, with 7,921 voting-age Negroes, no Negroes were registered. In four Georgia counties with a total voting-age Negro population of 9,600, only 57 were registered.

In Fayette County, Tennessee, the Civil Rights Commission discovered

that "According to men interviewed, when a Negro registers the sheriff is quickly informed and he, in turn. informs the Negro's landlord and employer. Those who register are soon discharged from their positions and ordered to move from their homes. The police arrest them and impose severe fines—as much as \$65 on minor charges, it was alleged. They are unable to get credit. Their wages are garnisheed. Applications for GI loans to buy land are turned down by local lenders." In other counties, threats and acts of physical violence against Negroes who had tried to register were alleged under sworn affidavits. Registrars who manage never to be at their desk when Negroes try to register, or who demand the would-be registrant to write from memory any given article of the U.S. Constitution and to interpret it have been known. In at least one instance, a Negro history professor who complied with the latter request was turned away because his "interpretation" did not agree with that of the registrar.

Such conditions make voter

Commends efforts to stimulate, train, and protect Negro and other citizens in the exercise of their responsibility to register and vote by such agencies as United Church Women, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the League of Women Voters; and

Urges United Presbyterians to participate actively in these or other such legitimate efforts and to defend them against unwarranted and irresponsible

attacks.

"apathy" somewhat understandable. At the same time, in Atlanta, where Negroes can register freely, only 29 per cent of those eligible have done so as compared with 44 per cent of eligible whites who have registered.

Churches with Negro constituencies can set up voters clinics and in other ways encourage their members

to register and vote.

Manifestly Federal and state legislation, while desperately needed to remove external interferences with the exercise of voting rights, will not of itself produce responsible citizenship at the polls. The most vigorous civil rights agencies have criticized the 1960 Civil Rights Act recently passed as being grossly inadequate to remove these illegal and extralegal hindrances. But meanwhile, the agencies named in the pronouncement, have been, and continue to be, active with varying degrees of effectiveness in training and motivating citizens to use their voting rights. Their efforts deserve to be commended, although the General Assembly was careful not to imply blanket endorsement of the agencies as such or of their entire programs.

The General Assembly also urges United Presbyterians to select the agency they believe to be most effective and congenial to their tastes and to participate actively in its voter-training program.

### 3. The Calling of Ministers

So far as we know, there are only three instances in our denomination of a pastor's being called to serve a congregation of a different race from his own. One is a white congregation in New York state that called a Negro minister; another is a Negro congregation in Pennsylvania that called a white minister (this church is now racially integrated); the third is a white congregation in Idaho that called an Oriental to be its pastor. There may be other instances, but almost surely they are insignificant in number. While several churches are served by biracial teams of ministers, the pattern in the United Presbyterian Church is overwhelmingly that of uniformity of race as between pastor and congregation.

While both the causes and effects of this pattern are extremely complex (one effect, for example, is a statistical drop in the number of Negro young people entering the United Presbyterian ministry in favor of nonchurch vocations in nonsegregated situations), its solution is perhaps equally complex.

This statement on the calling of ministers assumes that in a time of high "demand" and low "supply" of clergyman, as at the present, more and more congregations will be willing to recognize the irrelevancy of a

### 3. The Calling of Ministers

Perceiving that the race of a clergyman is, in itself, irrelevant to his Chris-

tian piety or professional competence;

Believing that many churches seeking pastoral leadership are ready to consider candidates solely on the basis of their Christian spirit, training, and ability;

The 172d General Assembly

Urges churches attempting to fill pastoral or staff vacancies to communicate to the Department of Ministerial Relations their desire to consider the best-qualified candidates without regard to the candidates' race;

minister's color to his ability.

Our church's Department of Ministerial Relations has a long record of service as a referral and counseling agency to churches, judicatory committees, and ministers. It uses no racial labels or photographs in its filing system or in its referral forms. The 172d General Assembly here is asking the co-operation of three units of our church—pulpit committees, presbytery committees on ministerial relations, and Department -to raise the question of the feasability of considering and hearing candidates without regard to their race or that of the congregation.

Following the drafting of this section of the pronouncements by the Committee of Eighteen, its approval by the Counseling Committee, and its printing in the Blue Book for Commissioners to the Assembly, representatives of the Department of Ministerial Relations gave valuable counsel to the Standing Committee, which made appropriate revisions in the draft statement. It was adopted by the Assembly without debate.

Meanwhile, a survey by the Committee of Eighteen of the leadership potential among the Negro clergymen of our denomination indicates that many are serving pastorates with quiet, unrecognized distinction;

that their training, experience, and ability in many instances qualifies them for larger fields of service; and that the vast majority are willing to consider serving a congregation whose needs they can meet whether its race is the same as their own or not. The Committee of Eighteen was set up by the Department of Social Education and Action in 1957 in response to a General Assembly resolution directing the department "to develop a comprehensive, effective, unified program for the whole church to achieve a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society."

### 4. Raising Vocational Aspirations and Training of Nonwhite Youth

The problem of discrimination in employment is not solved by the passage of Fair Employment Practices laws (although they greatly help). Not infrequently, when job categories have "opened up" and hiring begins on a merit basis, there have been few if any qualified minority applicants to take advantage of such openings. This is partly, perhaps almost solely, due to the effects of the long history of discrimination and segregation on the incentive and aspirational level of minority young

Urges presbytery committees on ministerial relations in counseling with churches seeking ministers to encourage these churches to consider and hear qualified candidates without respect to race or ethnic origin; and

Requests the Department of Ministerial Relations to encourage every church using its service to consider and hear candidates, without regard to race or color, whose stated qualifications meet the needs of the church.

### 4. Raising Vocational Aspirations and Training of Nonwhite Youth

Having seen many job categories, previously closed to nonwhites, become open to qualified applicants;

Noting that responsible studies indicate that the vocational aspirations of Negro and other nonwhite youth tend to be substantially lower than those of corresponding white youth; and

Realizing the effect that the history of racial discrimination in employment

has had on the economic aspirations of those discriminated against;

people, and an understandable unwillingness to train themselves for jobs not available. The tragedy of the Negro elevator operator with a graduate degree in accounting is all too characteristic.

These effects have been documented in such studies as New Horizons in Guidance for Minority Group Youth, by the Social Research Institute of Delaware State College, Dover, Delaware: Development of Training Incentives for the Youth of Minority Groups and Youth Training Incentives Conference Proceedings, prepared by the President's Committee on Government Contracts, Washington 25, D.C.; Employing the Negro in American Industry, by Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., 1270 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y.; and The Negro Potential, by Eli Ginzberg (Columbia University Press, 1956, \$3.00).

This section of the pronouncements assumes that the achievement of a society in which persons are trained, hired, or promoted on a merit basis is not solely the responsibility of any one group. Vocational counselors and pastors, employers, labor unions, legislative bodies (and, not mentioned, parents) share the task of moving a sluggish or resistant society toward that goal.

This year, 1960, is the fiftieth anniversary of the National Urban League, which richly deserves the commendation given it.

## 5. Desegregation in the Public Schools

### a. Voluntary Compliance

"I can't understand why school boards do not take some action on their own initiative instead of waiting for Negroes to bring lawsuits against them. The opinion of the Supreme Court is well known, and surely the board members have read about these things happening at Little Rock and Nashville. Why do they wait until the last minute and then come up here and claim they need more time in which to adopt a policy?" (U.S. Judge William E. Miller, Middle District, Tennessee, as quoted by the Southern Regional Council.)

Contrary to what is generally believed, by far most of the desegregation of the public schools since 1954

Urges those leaders, such as pastors and vocational counselors, who have access to the minds and hearts of nonwhite youth to nourish in them a growing faith in the ability of our society to correct previous patterns of discrimination in employment, and to encourage them to continue their education and/or training, even for job categories that may presently be closed to members of their race;

Urges United Presbyterian employers in both church and nonchurch organizations to see that their recruiting, training, hiring, and promoting practices are conducted on a merit or seniority basis, without regard to the race or

ethnic origin of employees;

Calls upon labor unions with discriminatory policies or practices quickly to bring them into line with the oft-repeated statements of the major international unions in favor of nondiscriminatory membership;

Repeats its call to all United Presbyterian members and judicatories to support and implement state and local Fair Employment Practices legislation:

and

Commends such agencies as the National Urban League for their continuous program of placement and education of both potential employees and employers.

### 5. Desegregation in the Public Schools

a. Voluntary Compliance

Noting that since the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision, over 250 school districts previously segregated by law have voluntarily desegregated;

has been initiated voluntarily, without a court order, by school boards. As of November, 1959, of the 269 biracial school districts that had desegregated in Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, only 11 did so under court order. Over 500 school districts in Delaware, Washington, D.C., Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia desegregated voluntarily. It should also be remembered that in the Deep South states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina not a single school district has been desegregated-by court order or otherwise. (Figures from the Southern Regional Council and the Southern School News.)

These accomplishments did not just happen without the dedicated

and in many cases, courageous, leadership of public-school officials, who deserve all the encouragement and support that the church can give them. The 172d General Assembly commends this kind of leadership.

In urging United Presbyterians to work for compliance in school districts still segregated by state law, General Assembly speaks to both Negro and white members of our churches in these areas:

1. Persons who belong to the Negro community, both ministers and laymen, are encouraged to support responsible desegregation efforts, or to initiate such efforts where there are none. With certain exceptions, the record shows that school desegregation is unlikely to be achieved without vigorous initiative by responsible Negro leaders, or by their

Commends the wise and statesmanlike leadership that led to voluntary com-

pliance with the Supreme Court's decision; and

Calls upon United Presbyterians to give leadership in the movement toward voluntary compliance with the law of the land, assuring them of the support and assistance of their church.

### b. The Ambiguity of Minimal Desegregation

Observing that some school districts, acting under court order, have admitted a minimal number of Negro students into previously all-white schools;

Perceiving the likelihood of considerable damage to the personalities of students who, being virtually alone in a hostile or indifferent academic situation are shut out from normal participation in most extracurricular school life; and further

Having cause to believe that minimal or "token" desegregation may in some school districts be used as a substitute for full compliance with the law

of the land;

strong response to the initiative taken by leaders in the white community. Where Negro leadership is apathetic, very little usually happens.

2. The ministers and members of our "white" churches in school districts still resisting the Supreme Court decisions, or only weakly complying by the device of token desegregation, are urged to take the lead in initiating efforts toward full compliance, and to give these efforts their support and assistance. This deliverance of our General Assembly would seem to speak especially to those members of our churches who are connected with public education as school administrators and teachers, members of school boards, leaders in parent-teacher associations, or as parents of children in school.

# b. The Ambiguity of Minimal Desegregation

Few persons who saw newsreel or press photographs of Elizabeth Eckford in Little Rock or Dorothy Counts in Charlotte walking the gauntlet of jeers, blows, and spit to the schoolhouse have any illusions about the kind of courage and dignity required of any Negro who is the first to enter a previously allwhite school. Continued isolation at best and intimidation at worst within the classroom itself, as well as exclusion from the normal extracurricular life of the public schools, is a bitter price for those few Negroes admitted into a "token-desegregated" school. Yet, if the day is ever to come when every child is permitted "to attend. without respect to color, any public school for which he is qualified," such minimal desegregation must be recognized as having played, in some areas, the role of a beginning.

How much longer Negro children can be asked to pay the price, however, for such a beginning must be predicated on the question of whether token desegregation shall become really a beginning, rather than simply a substitute, for a genu-

Reminds all Christians that, while "token" desegregation and other plans that admit a small number of Negro pupils to white schools may be preferable to rigidly segregated or closed public schools, such arrangements fall far short of the ethical demands of our Lord and even of the full intent of the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 and 1955; and

Urges Christians wholly to support every legitimate effort to achieve the full freedom of every child to attend, without respect to color, any public school

for which he is qualified.

inely nonsegregated public-school system. In some school districts—in fact, in some states—it is openly spoken of as a substitute rather than a beginning. Legislation is passed that will enable school administrators to keep the number of Negroes actually attending white schools at an absolute minimum, sufficient to keep the Federal Courts "satisfied."

Some observers believe that to call token integration "ambiguous" is to be much too generous. The General Assembly was willing to grant the benefit of the doubt, but called upon Christians to "keep moving" toward full compliance not only in the spirit of the Supreme Court decision, but in the spirit of "the ethical demands of our Lord."







subcommittee

impasse

27

### CHURCH AND STATE

Noting that problems involving the relationship between church and state in American society are arising with increasing frequency and complexity; Observing that there are many inconsistencies, at all levels of our common life, in the maintenance of the separation of church and state as guaranteed in the First and Fourteenth Amendments to our Federal Constitution; and Observing also that many communities are confused as they face such issues as: (1) the celebration of religious holidays, the holding of religious observances, Bible-reading, and prayer in the public schools; (2) the use of public property for religious displays and pageants, (3) the evaluation of fitness of candidates for public office on the basis of religious affiliation,

### Commentary on CHURCH AND STATE

In a New Jersey community a group of non-Christian parents asks the school board to remove a Christian display of a crèche from the publicly owned school yard because it conveys a message that is contrary to the religious instruction these parents give their children. The school board agrees but then comes under pressure from Christian parents to retain the crèche and reverses its decision. The community is torn by tension, hostility, and confusion.

In an Ohio community (and elsewhere) nuns in religious garb are teaching in a public school and displaying Roman Catholic religious symbols as a part of the instruction of the children. Protestant and other parents protest, and the issue goes to the courts, with consequent disruption of community relations between previously friendly Roman Catholic and non-Roman Catholic neighbors.

An order is issued to state welfare officials to cease giving birth control information to all clients, regardless of their religious affiliation. The Protestants (and others) protest this order. Again, strife, political maneuverings, tension.

The problems of relationship between church and state in America are manifold. This section of the pronouncements lists eleven categories of such problems, and the list probably could be doubled. Yet, there is no consistent Protestant understanding of the doctrine of separation of church and state, which may well be more indigenous to the United States as a civil polity than to Protestantism as a religious community. England and some Scandinavian countries have state tax-supported churches, and they are Protestant. Spain and Italy have state tax-supported churches, and they are Roman Catholic. And in this country Protestants tend to be divided in their convictions, depending upon what the issue is that is at stake. (They tend to be for Bible-reading in the public schools, so long as it is a Protestant Bible that is read, and definitely against what is to them (4) the dispensing of birth control information in tax-supported health and welfare agencies, (5) the passage, strengthening, or challenging of Sunday closing laws, (6) the provision of public funds directly or indirectly to parochial schools, (7) censorship, either by public or private agencies, of material offensive to one or more religious groups, (8) the interpretation of divorce and adoption laws, (9) tax exemption for religious agencies, (10) special privileges for clergy; and (11) the exemption of candidates for the ministry from military service:

The 172d General Assembly

Directs the Moderator to appoint a special committee, working in co-operation with the Department of Social Education and Action and in consultation with other groups, to interpret the meaning of the doctrine of separation of church and state in the light of the Reformed tradition, so as to clarify the rights and responsibilities of religious groups in our pluralistic society, to apply its findings to the most salient issues of church-state relations, and to report the results to a future General Assembly.

"sectarian," but to the Roman Catholics is "Christian" teaching about the Virgin Mary, for example.)

The issues are much too complex and confused, and the "doctrine" (if, indeed, there is a theological doctrine of separation of church and state as over against a constitutional doctrine) is much too unformulated to elicit a careful and responsible statement to come from the General Assembly this year. The action taken above calls for the formation of a special committee to clarify the issues and the doctrine in the light of the Reformed tradition and to report to a future General Assembly.



commissioner



point of order



fait accompli

### THE RELIGIOUS FAITH OF CANDIDATES

Noting the focus of public attention on the religious faith of candidates in an election year;

### Commentary on THE RELIGIOUS FAITH OF CANDIDATES

Too many discussions about the religious faith of candidates for the presidency of the United States get polarized around one or the other of two extremes: either (a) the candidate's religion and his church have nothing to do with the way he can be expected to conduct the office, or (b) the candidate's religion and his church have a determinative effect upon the way he can be expected to conduct the office.

The pronouncement on the religious faith of candidates implicitly repudiates both of these extremes.

In the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action, which drafted the original statement, and in the Standing Committee, which revised it and reported it to the floor of the General Assembly, this section required more time in study and debate than almost any other except the section on race relations.

Two factors influenced the discussion in the committees: the nature of the office of the United States presidency and the fluidity of the question of religious liberty within the Roman Catholic Church. One or both of these factors have been treated extensively in a number of current publications. The June, 1960, issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS contained a symposium of six replies to the question:

In the event that a qualified candidate who is a Roman Catholic is elected to the presidency, what effect do you think his religion will have on the conduct of that office?

Earlier this year a thorough study, Roman Catholicism and Religious Liberty, by Dr. A. F. Carrillo de Albornoz, was published by the World Council of Churches (available for \$1.00 from the National Council of Churches). It delineated a strong drive within the Roman Catholic hierarchy to revise its "traditional" position of repressing "error" where it has the power to do so. In April, 1960, Dean James A. Pike's book, A Roman Catholic in the White House, was published by Doubleday (\$2.50), and in it he labeled as "dead issues more or less" the questions of an ambassador to the Vatican, Federal aid to parochial schools, and "loyalty to a foreign political state—the Vatican."

As two of the articles in June Social Progress suggest, the office of the United States presidency is not comparable—in the scope of its responsibility, the diversity of its constituency, its resistance to pressure groups—to local offices such as school board director, mayor, or city council member. The President symbolizes the national, as over

against a local or regional, interest and is expected to represent it. In doing so he has no choice but to appear to act in a nonpartisan way, since he will otherwise be opposed and supported by members of his own party and members of the opposition party in Congress and elsewhere. He does not confront, as may a mayor or a school board member at the local level, a politically dominant religious majority capable of bringing great pressure to bear—even if such a national majority existed, which it does not.

Carrillo's study and contemporary statements of Roman Catholic "liberal" theologians like Fr. John Courtnev Murray indicate that the Roman Church is not, with respect to issues of public policy, the monolithic, never-changing, institution it is popularly conceived to be by both Protestants and Catholics. Protestants. by the way they conduct themselves, may be able to strengthen, or at least to permit, indigenous growth in the liberalizing forces within the Roman hierarchy. Protestants almost certainly can help harden and rigidify the forces in the hierarchy that still think in terms of Pius IX's Syllabus of Errors. Even on such issues as birth control (laws proscribing which were put on the books of New England states not by Roman Catholics but by Protestants-although Catholics keep them there) some observers believe the Roman Church is looking for a way to modify its "official" opposition without seeming to jeopardize its doctrinal image of unchangeableness. The verbal treatment of Catholicism as a kind of "alien and un-American" minority in the United States will almost certainly force a closing of the ranks around the nineteenth-century Catholic version of religious liberty. This might kill, or at least seriously curtail, what John Bennett calls "a very able and earnest attempt . . . by Roman Catholic scholars in this country, with much support from Catholics in western Europe, to change the principles as well as the practice of the Roman Catholic Church in this matter [of churchstate relations]." These views "have support in the Vatican itself."

A Joint Declaration of the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1948 said, "In the exercise of its rights, a religious organization must respect the rights of other religious organizations and must safeguard the corporate and individual rights of the entire community."

A prominent Roman Catholic theologian (Hartmann), writing under "official" imprimatur, speaks similarly: "If anyone thinks he has a duty to do something which infringes the rights of others, he has no right to demand that they should tolerate his action or that it should be tolerated by those responsible for objective order."

The original title of this section of the pronouncements was "Religious Bigotry"—a singularly unforchurch and state; and

Believes that it is an act of irresponsible citizenship to support or oppose a candidate solely because of his religious affiliation.

tunate term. Many persons of sincere and deep religious faith, in speaking out of their faith (regardless of their knowledge of the presidency and Roman Catholicism), may utter statements that would automatically have been labeled "bigotry" under the original version. And of course no one regards himself as a bigot.

By floor action both the title and the wording of the statement were changed. Its title became, as now, "The Religious Faith of Candidates." What was, in the first wording, "an act of religious bigotry," became "an act of irresponsible citizenship." And the original reading, "to support or oppose a candidate solely or primarily because of his religious affiliation," was amended on the floor to eliminate the two words, "or primarily."

### Standing Committee on Social Education and Action

Rev. John O. Mellin, Chairman, New York Presbytery

### Ministers

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### Presbytery

Western New York
New York
Philadelphia
Donegal
Wooster
Indianapolis
Mattoon
Dakota
New Orleans
Denver
The Redwoods

### Presbytery Vocation

Boston Lawyer Morris-Orange Homemaker Grafton Salesman Redstone Engineer Cincinnati Engineer Lake Superior Homemaker Northwest Iowa Farmer Omaha Actuary Topeka Printer Columbia River Chemist Los Angeles Homemaker

### PROGRESS REPORTS

### Problems of Metropolitan Society

The Standing Committee on Social Education and Action submits the following progress report on The Challenge to the Church of the Problems of

Metropolitan Society.

In response to a directive of the 171st General Assembly the Department of Social Education and Action conducted a study in the general area of the church and economic life, including problems posed by automation, the expanding economy, increasing technology, and urbanization.

This study was assigned to a special committee of the Synod of Baltimore, which made use of resources and consultative services of the Department of

Social Education and Action.

The Synod of Baltimore committee, having completed its work, has submitted a preliminary report entitled *The Challenge to the Church of the Problems of Metropolitan Society*. This report has been reviewed and commended by the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action.

The Standing Committee has reviewed this report and makes the following

recommendations regarding its disposition:

1. That the preliminary report be the basis of a study document to be prepared and distributed jointly by the Department of Social Education and Action and cognate units of the Board of National Missions.

2. That a nationwide study of the revised document be undertaken by selected groups of ministers and laymen designated by the Department of Social Education and Action and appropriate units of the Board of National Missions.

### Commentary on PROGRESS REPORTS

### Problems of Metropolitan Society

The report of the Special Study Committee of the Synod of Baltimore is too lengthy a document to be printed in this issue of Social Progress. It will, however, be printed in a subsequent issue after it has been revised and enlarged as a study document for use in the churches. A series of joint editing conferences between the staffs of the Department of Social Education and Action and appropriate units of the Board of National Missions will prepare the final material, develop questions for dis-

cussions, and compile a bibliography. This group will also organize, with the assistance of field personnel and presbytery committee chairmen of national missions and social education and action, study groups of clergy and laity across the country.

The following is an outline of the report as presented to the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action of the 172d General Assembly.

1. Theological Preface

a. Implications of the doctrines of creation, man, and the incarnation. 3. That the findings of these study groups, together with recommendations they may have for pronouncements in this area, be reported to a future General Assembly by the Counseling Committee of the Department of Social Education and Action.

4. That the Special Committee on Church and Economic Life of the Synod of Baltimore be commended for its work and be urged to continue its study of this area in co-operation with the Department of Social Education and

Action.

### Special Study Committee of the Synod of Baltimore

Rev. Jack H. Boelens, Chairman, Synod SEA Committee; Hon. LeRoy Anderson, Congressman from Montana; Rev. Tracy K. Boyer, Silver Spring Presbyterian Church, Silver Spring, Md.; Mrs. E. N. Chapman, Physician, Washington, D.C.; Rev. Edward L. R. Elson, The National Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C.; Rev. William R. Grace, Olivet United Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, Del.; Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Earl Henderson, AFL-CIO, Newark, Del.; Dr. Melvin J. Humphrey, Professor of Economics, Morgan State College, Balti-

b. The church as a covenant community is "the arm of God's concern for all the people of the world."

c. The church is called to discern and evaluate the motives and goals of the various institutions of society.

d. The church must first confess its own sin.

2. Technology and Leisure Time

a. The problems of increasing technology and possibilities for cooperation between churches, business leaders, labor, and government.

b. The problems of increasing leisure time and the challenge to individual church members.

3. The Church and Full Employ-

ment

- a. What "full employment" means to the Christian church and means for helping the nation reach the goal of providing for the needs of population of 200,000,000 by 1970.
- b. What steps should be taken to meet this challenge by management, labor unions, and government

officials on all levels.

4. The Church and Urbanization

a. The ascendancy of the city as "one of man's most fruitful social experiments" but the concomitant social problems of decay, squalor, poverty, and vice.

b. The response of the inner

city and suburban churches.

c. The problem of increasing mobility and its affect upon city life and church concern.

5. The Search for Community in the City

a. The meaning of "community" in urban terms and the needs of the present in housing, redevelopment, and renewal programs.

Political implications of increased urbanization and the politi-

cal role of the churches.

6. What the Churches Can Do

A practical strategy for the churches dedicated to "an urban renaissance that will respect the dignity of every individual, dispense justice with compassion, and stimulate bold patterns of creativity."

more, Md.; Mr. W. E. Johnson, Director of Industrial Relations, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Charles Lanier, Professor of Economics, University of Delaware, Newark, Del.; Mr. James LaPonta, Jr., Director, Delaware Labor Council, AFL-CIO, Wilmington, Del.; Mr. P. B. Lewis, Manager, Personnel Division, Du Pont De Nemours, Wilmington, Del.; Dr. Clarence D. Long, Professor of Economics, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. John A. Mackay, President Emeritus, Princeton Theological Seminary, Chevy Chase, Md.; Mr. Gordon Manser, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Baltimore, Md.; Mr. Hardin J. Marion, III, Practicing Attorney, Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Robert McKibben, Synod Field Director, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. Dwynal B. Pettengill, Professor of Political Science, Morgan State College, Baltimore, Md.; Mr. John Ramsay, Director of Community Relations, United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Oliver Singleton, AFL-CIO Regional Director, Baltimore, Md.; Mr. James Stewart, Hotel Du Pont, Wilmington, Del.; Dr. Furman Templeton, Executive Director, Baltimore Urban League, Baltimore, Md.; Mr. Charles L. Wagandt, II, Businessman, Baltimore, Md.; Mr. T. J. S. Waxter, Director of State Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore, Md.; Mr. Charles F. West, Grand Lodge Representative, International Association of Machinists, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. James Williams, Housewife, Wilmington, Del.

### Problems of Alcohol

As directed by the 171st General Assembly, the Department of Social Education and Action is continuing its study of the problems of alcohol through a representative advisory committee. This study includes an intensive inquiry into the theological, ethical, sociological, psychological, and economic aspects of the problems related to drinking.

Appropriate recommendations will be prepared for the 173d General Assem-

bly.

### Crime Prevention and Correction

The 171st General Assembly adopted a strong pronouncement urging the abolition of capital punishment. As directed by that General Assembly the Counseling Committee, in co-operation with several judicatory committees, is continuing to study other aspects of crime prevention and correction.

### Ethical Responsibility of Church Boards and Agencies as Investors

The General Council on May 20, 1960, reported having received a petition from the Presbytery of New York relative to the policy regarding services to the public by business corporations conducting restaurant operations in which The United Presbyterian Church is a shareholder.

The General Council stated that it expected the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action to deal with the general problem at this General

Assembly.

The Standing Committee on Social Education and Action recommends that the General Assembly request the Department of Social Education and Action to study the implications of the social practices and policies of corporations for the investment programs of church agencies, and to seek the co-operation of the appropriate officers of such agencies in making this study.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN O. MELLIN, Chairman
Standing Committee on Social Education and Action

### PROGRAM

### POINTERS

Each General Assembly demonstrates in a remarkable way the creative use and value of controversy and the importance of freedom of inquiry and conscience under God. Nowhere is this more true than in the General Assembly's handling of social pronouncements. The careful study and vigorous debate at every stage of pronouncement-making at General Assembly ought to be going on all year in the churches and presbyteries. Indeed, the actions of General Assembly are only the beginning of the church's response to the issues and events of our time.

Take the first pronouncement on "The Church and National Purpose." Every session has something to contribute to the "redefinition . . . of the values that have undergirded our common life" and ought to feel some deep obligation to examine "the confusion between the belief we still profess as a people and the values we actually live by." A high sense of national purpose grows out of the will of the people. The competent and scholarly committee appointed by the Moderator and Stated Clerk will welcome communications from presbyteries and local churches.

Nothing could be more specific and personal and local than the pronouncement on "Race Relations." Clearly, all United Presbyterians (including especially those who live in communities where "we have no problem because we have no Negroes") are personally and directly involved in forces that either perpetuate or change our biased and segregated ways of thinking and living. We could also spell out the same involvement in world tensions and international struggles for freedom.

This issue of Social Procress should have wide distribution to church officers, leaders, and members—

When church groups plan for the coming program year.

Every congregation should be preparing its members to vote responsibly in the fall elections through: (1) forums on local and national platforms, (2) meetings with candidates to query their qualifications and stands on public issues, (3) "church night" meetings to study local problems of church-state relations, (4) co-operation with organizations like the League of Women Voters, World Affairs Council.

As women's organizations, men's councils, and adult Bible classes line up future meetings and projects some specific attention should be given to the pronouncements and ways in which each group may act upon them.

When new members are received and instructed.

In communicants classes and session discussion with new members it

is important for new members to understand that they are joining a church that has a great tradition of social responsibility. The theological assumptions about the nature of the church and of God's continuing action in the world are the basis for the church's action on social issues.

When the Christian education committee trains its leaders and teachers.

All world-wide problems have their particular local effects and manifestations. The committee needs to analyze the forces at work in the community that affect the lives of people. The pronouncements give direction and emphasis to the study of culture. Teachers in the church school cannot communicate the gospel without some awareness of the real world where people live and work and take political responsibility.

When the pulpit reaches the pew.

Many churches will distribute copies of this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS to all officers, and print excerpts in a series of church bulletins and letters to the congregation. Others will discuss them in church

night forums and panels.

The SEA Committee of the First Presbyterian Church of San Fernando, California, brought each of the 1959 pronouncements to the regular meetings of the session for careful study. Each pronouncement was reviewed and discussed by eighteen elders and two ministers. At the end of six months of discussion the session members indicated their views about each pronouncement, using the following scale:

- 1. Agree, but should be more strongly worded.
  - 2. Agree with it 100 per cent.
- 3. Agree in general, with a few minor changes.
- 4. Don't care one way or the other.
- 5. Tend to disagree with the principle as expressed.
  - 6. Disagree completely.
- 7. This is an area in which the church should not be concerned.

There was rather general agreement about race relations, collective bargaining, and planned parenthood, and a wide spread of disagreement on international relations and capital punishment.

1960 Election Issues That Make a World of Difference is a helpful and useful resource designed for general distribution. The leaflet briefly describes eight crucial areas of concern and poses questions to ponder while listening to campaign speeches, meeting candidates, examining party platforms, discussing election issues in church and civic groups.

Major political issues can make a "world of difference" when translated into policy and action by candidates aspiring to public office. Knowing the issues, determining the stand of candidates, and understanding related party policies are indispensable if the church is to perform its task of working for

responsible public policy.

Single copy, 10 cents; 10-100 copies, 5 cents each; 100-1,000 copies, 4 cents each; 1,000 copies or more, 3 cents each, Order from your nearest Presbyterian Distribution Service: 225 Varick Street, New York 14, N.Y.; 200 West Adams Street, Chicago 6, Ill.; 234 McAllister Street, San Francisco 2, Calif.

# WHAT'S HAPPENING

## In the Churches

An open hearing to discover grass-roots feeling

regarding possible courses of action of presbytery on issues raised by General Assembly deliverances was held recently by the Committee on Social Education and Action of the Presbytery of Boise.

The hearing, one of a series, took place at the First Presbyterian Church, Boise, Idaho. Its focus was on issues relating to the recognition of Red China and the elimination of

capital punishment.

Opening remarks by members of the SEA Committee reviewed the ground for social education and action and clarified the objectives of the hearing. In response to the question, "Should the SEA Committee raise these issues again in presbytery?" statements were heard in support of and in opposition to the issues being submitted to the presbytery for further consideration. The deepest point of division between advocates and opponents of social and political action by the presbytery seemed to be on the question: "Can the gospel of Christ be made relevant to contemporary political problems without action by church as a corporate body?"

Another open hearing was scheduled for a later date to be held at a different location. The question to be raised at this hearing is: "What are the issues upon which Presbyterians should speak?" Members of the churches are urged to come to the hearings with well-thought-out statements of what they think ought to be the concerns which the SEA Committee should present to the presbytery. Those who think that the Presbyterians ought not to speak at all are likewise urged to come with their opinions well thought out.

Study of General Assembly deliverances is often made an integral part of annual schools of religion, church forums, special institutes, Wednesday evening discussion groups, and meetings of a similar nature.

The House of Hope, Presbyterian Church, St. Paul, Minnesota, provides an illustration of this kind of approach. The church recently included a discussion of social deliverances in their Round-Table program. This program presented on seven successive Wednesday evenings a series of selective interest topics. "The Presbyterian Church Takes a Stand on the Social Issues of the Present Day" was one of the five topics in the Round-Table schedule. The sessions began with a brief worship service followed by group discussions and concluded with a coffee hour.

Dr. Irving O. West, pastor of the church, presided at discussions dealing with actions of the General Assembly: the right to know about

birth control, race relations in the U.S.A., the rights and responsibilities of labor, the problems of juvenile delinquency, the problems of peace and disarmament, the rights and responsibilities of capitalism, and fair employment practices. Other topics included in the Round-Table program were: the Christian church from the apostolic period to the Council of Nicaea, the Sermon on the Mount, Presbyterian principles and practices, and Old Testament characters.

Alton Presbytery (Synod of Illinois) recently held an SEA rally for adults and young people immediately following a stated meeting of the presbytery. Featured was a presentation of how the General Assembly pronouncements come into being followed by supper table discussions on pertinent issues and a plenary session where there was a lively exchange of ideas.

How can a theologically oriented course of study in social action and the church, planned for a church school adult class, show that politics and religion are vitally interrelated, and also thoughtfully consider the social pronouncements of the General Assembly? The First Presbyterian Church, Fayetteville, Arkansas, attempted to do this in one quarter (Fall, 1959) as part of their adult "collegiate" church school curriculum.

Twenty adults, regular in attendance and articulate in discussion, enrolled in this class on social action and the church which included uni-

versity professors, public-school teachers, housewives, a businessman, a Federal Government employee, and two physicians. One of the elders, Mr. Stephen Stephan, a sociology professor at the University of Arkansas, located in Fayetteville, was asked by the session's committee on Christian education to direct this newly formed study group.

The class used the following materials in sequence: Social Progress, April, 1959, "Responsible Freedom"; Mixing Religion and Politics (Association Press, 291 Broadway, New York 7, N.Y., 50 cents), a pamphlet by William Muehl, Yale Divinity School professor; and Social PROGRESS, July, 1959, "United Presbyterians Speak." The theological insight of the Calvinistic thought and the need for such a foundation for understanding and developing responsible citizenship were studied, with the "Responsible Freedom" issue of Social Progress as the text. Using the Muehl pamphlet, the group discussed the relevance of religion and politics, the weakness of the individualistic outlook, the political realities of America in terms of structures and processes, some of the insights of contemporary Christian thought into American politics, and the problem of church and state. The pronouncements of the 171st General Assembly and the questions of "how binding are they" and the "authority" of the pronouncements were studied from the Social Progress issue, "United Presbyterians Speak." Other churches looking for materials for a quarter's serious study in their church school program may find a guide from the rewarding experience of the Favetteville church.

39

# About Books

The Spiritual Legacy of John Foster Dulles: Selections from His Articles and Addresses, ed. Henry P. Van Dusen. The Westminster Press, 1960. 232 pp. \$3.95.

After John Foster Dulles' death in 1959 an examination of his files disclosed that more than fifty addresses and articles were concerned primarily with the moral and spiritual foundations of world order, the meaning and application of religion, and the mission of the churches in advancing the cause of human relations and world order. The present volume represents a skillful selection of material from these writings.

The compilation begins with the text of an address made by Mr. Dulles in the church in Watertown. New York, in which he worshiped as a boy and of which his father was minister. It includes an interpretation of the 1937 Oxford Conference on "Church, Community, and State," an address to the graduating class of Princeton Theological Seminary in 1944, a Christian Century article on "How My Faith Helped in a Decisive Hour," articles in several magazines, addresses before church bodies and other groups, excerpts from his book War or Peace, various papers he wrote in connection with his work as chairman of the Commission to Study the Basis of a Just and Durable Peace, and a most important paper written as part of the preparation for the first assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948.

The volume includes a tribute from President Eisenhower as well as a twelve-page introduction by Dr. Van Dusen in which he summarizes the vocabulary and convictions of Dulles, a man of action.

The last chapter, "The Power of Moral Forces," is based on the text of an address delivered at a community service celebrating the one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Watertown, New York, in 1953.

The readers should be warned against regarding certain passages in the book as representing the fullness of Mr. Dulles' thought on such matters as politics, international relations, foreign policy, the United Nations. The present book is tremendously useful as an exposition of the "spiritual legacy" of a great American leader. In his book War or Peace, first published in 1950 and reissued in 1957, Mr. Dulles states his basic convictions on many political and social matters.

Law as Large as Life: A Natural Law for Today and the Supreme Court as Its Prophet, by Charles P. Curtis. Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1959. 211 pp. with index. \$3.50.

The author is a practicing lawyer in Boston. He is also the author of

several books on the law and on the Supreme Court (as well as on other subjects such as hunting in Africa, and the philosophy of Pareto). He has also taught at Harvard University and served as a member of the Harvard Corporation.

This book deals with certain questions raised by recent actions of the Supreme Court. It discusses such questions as these: How far does the warrant of the Court run to declare laws unconstitutional? 'Can the Court tell the states and other departments of government how as well as what each of them can do? Has the Court assumed the role of a third legislative chamber? And, is any of this possible without a Natural Law? By "Natural Law" the author has in mind a consensus, a public philosophy, a generally accepted core of values, almost an unwritten law on which governments and constitutions and human life itself can be based. Last year Judge Learned Hand put this whole matter into the foreground of contemporary discussion of constitutional law. In the present book Mr. Curtis, a distinguished lawyer in his own right, proposes a new Natural Law for today with the Supreme Court as its proponent.

The proposal is made in a context of quotations from poets and judges, philosophers and wits, theologians, and a girl playing hopscotch. It includes discussion of a Joint Committee of Congress on Spiritual Energy, and an examination of how the Navaho Indians combine a precisely structured universe, in their natural law, with a great respect for individual autonomy and integrity. This is an important book, useful in the current discussion of national goals.

The Splendid Misery: The Story of the Presidency and Power Politics at Close Range, by Jack Bell. Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1960. 474 pp. with index. \$4.95.

This book, by an experienced and widely read Washington correspondent, uses a fresh and anecdotal style in discussing the conduct of the presidency. Though the book deals principally with the present Administration, there are references to the contributions of earlier Presidents (Jackson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Hayes, Cleveland, Coolidge, Harding, Hoover) to the still growing tradition of the highest office of the land.

The writer faces the running battle between the executive and legislative branches of government to capture political leadership. In doing so, he goes behind the scenes to reveal the work and the function of the country's highest office and the way they are carried out, not always by the President. To read this book is to be ready to take sides in the great debate on whether there has been or ever can be national progress without a strong executive, rather than Congress, in a position of dominant leadership.

The Constitution of Liberty, by F. A. Hayek. University of Chicago Press, 1960. 570 pp. with index. \$7.50.

Fifteen years ago Dr. Hayek wrote The Road to Serfdom, which was compared to John Stuart Mill's great essay On Liberty. The present volume, written on the hundredth anniversary of Mill's essay, is a positive

statement of the principles of a free society that in scope and breadth can be likened to the Wealth of Nations.

This is a most timely book in the light of the current great debate on national purpose. Dr. Hayek attempts a modern restatement of the ideals of freedom that have guided, and must continue to guide, the growth of Western civilization. If the free world is to survive in the current struggle of ideas, we must first of all know what it is we believe and what it is we want to preserve.

Here is a thorough exposition of a social philosophy that ranges from ethics and anthropology through jurisprudence and the history of ideas to the economics of the modern welfare state.

Dr. Hayek is internationally known as an economic theorist. Formerly a professor at the University of London, he has been at the University of Chicago since 1950 as professor of social and moral science.

The American Presidency, by Clinton Rossiter. Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1960. 281 pp. with index. Paper, \$1.95.

This important book is a revision of an earlier volume based on six lectures given at the University of Chicago in the spring of 1956. The author is professor of American Institutions at Cornell University. This is one of the best books ever written on the American presidency. It assesses the powers and practices, the personalities and problems, of the most important office in the modern world. In this second edition the au-

thor has added some fresh material drawn largely from the conduct of the presidency in the last four years. Two new chapters have been added on the questions of election and succession to the presidency.

Many readers will be interested in Dr. Rossiter's attempt to assess the performance of President Eisenhower and to predict his place in the history of the presidency. This is an easy work to read; the writing is convincing. Dr. Rossiter has a wonderful way of packing deep insights and understandings into short, powerful, quotable sentences.

The Politics of National Party Conventions, by Paul T. David, Ralph M. Goldman, Richard C. Bain. The Brookings Institution, 1960. 592 pp. with index. \$10.00.

This is a historical and analytical study of how the major political parties find and nominate their candidates for President and Vice-President.

The writers discuss the evolution of the party convention since its appearance on the national scene during Andrew Jackson's first term as President, the channels through which more than three hundred noteworthy contenders for major party nominations since 1832 reached political prominence, the centers of leadership in the party out of power and in the party occupying the White House, the convention as a type of representative institution-with voting rules, apportionment procedures, and a degree of amenability to popular control.

The writers identify important aspects of the nominating process

and offer specific proposals to help conventions and the parties to fulfill their important responsibilities. Significant new findings are presented through the analysis of decisionmaking by delegations, convention voting behavior, candidate strategies, and the relationship between convention action and election results.

This book was stimulated by and draws upon a five-volume study of the presidential nominating procedures in 1952, which was conducted under the auspices of the American Political Science Association. Two of the authors of the present book, Dr. David and Dr. Bain, are members of the senior staff of The Brookings Institution. Dr. Goldman, formerly with Brookings, is now on the faculty of Michigan State University.

The High Tower of Refuge: The Inspiring Story of Refugee Relief Throughout the World, by Edgar H. S. Chandler. Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1959. 264 pp. with index. \$6.75.

The author of this splendid book, until his recent untimely death, was also president of the Standing Conference of the Voluntary Agencies Working for Refugees, the principal co-ordinating body without which the refugee efforts of the nongovernmental groups would be completely chaotic.

This is the personalized account of the many wide-ranging programs, principally nongovernmental, providing desperately needed service for millions of refugees in many parts of the world in the last fifteen years or so. The book is packed with facts,

firsthand observations, stories from real life, personal interpretations and insights. There are thirty-two pages of reproductions of photographs with story captions, Dr. Chandler tells of the work of voluntary groups with the Hungarian refugees, with the homeless in South Korea, with white-Russian wanderers, with the great varieties of displaced persons in Europe after the war, with the homeless in Greece, with the forlorn inhabitants of UN-maintained refugee camps in the Middle East, with escapees from Iron Curtain countries, and with the hundreds of thousands who have fled from Red China to Hong Kong and who from there have no place to flee.

In telling his story Dr. Chandler gives proper credit to the great company of selfless men and women who are involved in the field programs of the various agencies working with refugees around the world.

The High Tower of Refuge is written from the standpoint of the World Council of Churches and its relations with many refugee programs. One would wish perhaps that the book included descriptions of the programs under auspices of Roman Catholic and Jewish groups—the remarkable work of Father Pire in Belgium, for example, to which only slight reference is made, and the work of Jewish agencies in ministering to the continuing problem of Jewish refugees in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Ministers will find in this splendid book much help in understanding and interpreting the tragic story of the modern refugee.

43



#### Dear Sir:

You, and the contributors too, are to be complimented on the forthright and thorough discussion of racial intermarriage in your February, 1960, issue.

It occurs to me that you would be interested in reading the study, A Reappraisal of the Constitutionality of Miscegenation Statutes, available from Journal of the National Medical Association, and from the Cornell Law Quarterly which are concerned with miscegenation, not only in its legal posture but from the point of view of "pure races." The National Medical Association reprint is current as to information, but the earlier Cornell reprint is footnoted.

—Andrew D. Weinberger New York, N.Y.

(Editor's Note: The following letter is reprinted with the permission of the pastor who wrote it. Names and places have been changed or withheld at his request.)

### Dear Ann:

A week ago, when we got together for a family consultation, your father told me about your growing friendship with and possible consideration of marriage to a young man of the Negro race. This Monday he showed me the February issue of Social Progress, asking if this were "an official publication of the Presbyterian Church." I explained that

it is the official publication of our Department of Social Education and Action. . . . After leaving his office I came home and read completely through this February issue. Two of the authors I know personally. Paul S. Wright visited our church the year he was Moderator of the General Assembly and is one of the finest men I ever met; Dean H. Lewis was here in our town recently for an Evangelism Conference, and I think very highly of him and his judgment also. . . .

I'm venturing to write you on this matter only because your father has invited me to write you as your pastor. However, I hasten to add that what I write will probably not be exactly what he would want me to write, for I am not opposed to inter-

racial marriages.

The writers of the SOCIAL PROG-RESS articles have expressed many of the thoughts in my own mind and heart, so I'd like to quote them where appropriate. Jean Russell states, "The Negro whom no one wants his or her daughter to marry is without a face." How very true. We decide without knowing the individual. It makes me think of the discussion we had in a congregational meeting about the proposed salary for an assistant pastor, before we had a man in mind. There was resistance to the figure set. Then he came to us and, after spending a week getting acquainted with him, our session voted (with one abstention but no "nays") to recommend a \$500 raise for him in January! Knowing the individual made the difference.

Here, it seems to me, is the crux of your situation. If you should decide to go into an interracial marriage, you will face rebuffs, not only to yourselves but to your children....

This brings us to the related fact that in entering an interracial marriage (which is, without question, your personal right), you immediately involve other people in it—your parents, your sister and brother, and any children you may have. And human society being what it is, they are drawn into the vortex of this social problem whether they want to be or not. Granted that this problem would not exist in a perfect society, it does exist in this one.

The other big factor to consider—and I write this as one who does a lot of marriage counseling—is that of the handicap which is not of the making of either person. Paul Wright summarizes this well when he says, "Marriages have a tough time surviving in this wacky world without being afflicted with the deadly censure of society."

With these things in mind, if I were to advise you as a counselor (and I realize I'm in a difficult spot on this because you're not asking my

advice!), I would suggest:

1. Think it through very carefully and as realistically as possible—consider all the implications, not only for you and your tentatively intended, but for the other people

inescapably involved.

2. Study to learn the real nature of Christian vs. romantic love, and the fusion of the two which is necessary for a lasting, fruitful and happy marriage. . . . You love him enough to sacrifice yourself for him. Does he love you enough to sacrifice himself completely, if necessary, for you? . . .

3. Are you completely reconciled, within your own heart, to becoming a Negro yourself? Are you willing to accept the status of a Negro for life—the rejections that a Negro faces in contemporary American life—and to see those who shared your childhood home—and those yet unborn, share those rejections also, because of your decision?

4. Would you be willing to give your love the test of time by a separation of one college year, that you might get a wider and larger view of everything involved and to count fully the long-range cost of your decision? This would be most valuable in helping to allay your parents' concerns and bringing them to a greater reconciliation if you should then decide to go ahead.

This is a complex problem and no one can prescribe your solution for you. Certainly you are not to be condemned—rather commended—for considering such an adventure in intimate and lifelong fellowship across the racial barriers that have

grown up in society.

But the cost is very, very great. It must be counted carefully, patiently, considerately, not only for yourselves but for all concerned. Then, in due time, the wisdom of God will make itself known, and if that wisdom then guides you to an interracial marriage, the spiritual foundations of your relationship will be firm enough to stand the ordeals that lie ahead, and others who love you will be more at peace with themselves about your final decision.

Our prayers certainly go with you both.

-Name withheld

#### Dear Sir:

It seems to us that before making the following statement in your March issue: "Several papers (The Evening Bulletin of Philadelphia, The New York Post, the two Chicago papers, and The Detroit News) vied for dubious top honors in the amount of space they gave to sensational items," you should have carefully researched the facts to back it up.

There are so many glaring inaccuracies in your table on pages 24 and 25 that it makes us wonder if any of the figures shown are believable.

You would have people believe, for instance, that there was in the issues your staff measured more than three times as much accident and crime news, etc., in The Evening Bulletin as there was in the Inquirer. This is patently absurd. I don't know the dates of the issues your people looked at, but I can't help wondering whether several of them were around the second week in February. On February 9, the Bulletin started a massive exposé of vote frauds in certain Philadelphia voting divisions which occupied considerable space in the paper for some weeks. Is it possible that your staff lumped these public service political stories under "crime"?

There are many other figures describing newspapers all over the country that we know could not be right because of our knowledge of these newspapers, but I will not attempt to point them out. I will merely call your attention to one other comparison in Philadelphia, the figures for the Bulletin and Inquirer sports pages. You give the In-

quirer considerably more than twice as much sports news space as the Bulletin. Our people measure both papers every day, and I can tell you that this has never been so on any one day or any combination of days.

It might interest you to know that some time ago our librarian did an exhaustive study over a long period of time on the percentage of news space in *The Evening Bulletin* devoted to crime. The figure was just over 4 per cent.

Stuart S. Taylor
Vice-President,
The Evening Bulletin
Philadelphia, Pa.

#### Dear Sir:

Just a brief note to express my personal appreciation for the excellent March issue of Social Progress concerning the American press. It is a most objective and fair analysis of what in the minds of many people is an emotionally charged subject.

—Alexander C. Meakin Springfield, Ohio

#### Dear Sir:

I received today a copy of your March, 1960, issue of Social Progress with its amazing analysis of distribution of news in selected newspapers including our own. Let me say that I can't recall seeing anything more discouraging to a group of editors who are trying their best to put out a responsible paper and who are generally praised for their efforts by the people familiar with them.

First, and as a generalization, I would like to point out that any editor studying your listing would be amazed at some of the findings.

As an example, you classify the St. Louis Post-Dispatch as approxi-

mately three times more sensational "as gauged by crime, accident, and other reporting" than the St. Louis Globe-Democrat. The Post-Dispatch has been accused of a lot of things, but this is a new one.

Similarly, in our own city, your figures would indicate that *The Detroit Times*, which is a Hearst paper, is less given to sensationalism than are we. I can only suggest you contact the various Presbyterian ministers in Detroit and check your comparative finding.

Again, on a general basis, I would like to point out that *The Detroit News* maintains a four-man, full-time Washington bureau devoted entirely to the services of this newspaper. Each of them files at least one daily story. Yet a reader of your survey would gather that *The Fargo Forum* carries something approximating 50 per cent more columns of political and Washington news than do we. I simply do not believe it.

You speak of international coverage: This newspaper has covered all recent international conferences. sent our Washington bureau chief. Mr. Elie Abel, on the long and very expensive trip with President Eisenhower to the Middle East and India, and, also, carries the file of Reuters, the London Observer, the New York Herald Tribune and the North American Newspaper Alliance in addition to the Associated Press and the United Press International. We also have a full-time foreign analyst columnist, Mr. Russell Barnes, who periodically covers UN meetings.

But your figures would indicate that our foreign coverage is smaller by all degrees of measure than is that of the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, the St. Petersburg Times, and the Spokane Spokesman-Review, none of which, from my personal recollection of ten years as Washington and foreign correspondent, attempts to give such coverage.

I might add that The Detroit News has, on at least three occasions, sent Washington and local staff men to the Deep South to write a series on segregation and has thereby attracted the bitter criticism of the racist minority who attack both this newspaper and the Presbyterian Church for its liberalism in this field. Yet, your survey seems to show that we are among the worst three papers in the United States in the coverage of the civil liberties field.

I am quite sure that any of our readers who got a copy of your March, 1960, publication will be a little confused by your statement that the paper in which they regularly read Marquis Childs, William S. White, Joseph Livingston, Ralph McGill, Max Lerner, Edward Crankshaw, and Noel Anthony runs no syndicated columns except Jay G. Hayden. This item of your report is in error and totally outdated.

I can only repeat, in conclusion, that your article and the amazing statistics with which you support it are exceedingly discouraging to a paper that has such a long history of community service. Of course, our good Presbyterian friends who know of our historic backing of the Detroit Citizens League, of our fight against corruption, of our status as a paper that has regularly covered foreign assignments, know better.

—Martin S. Hayden
Editor, The Detroit News
Detroit, Mich.



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